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SHERMAN.

General Andrew Hickenlooper's Address

AT THE

→ TWENTY-THIRD MEETING ←

OF THE

Society of the Army of the Tennessee.

CHICAGO, ILL.

OCTOBER 7TH, 1891.

CINCINNATI:

Press of F. W. Freeman, 16 West Pearl Street,
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This address is issued in this form by the Recording Secretary, under direction of the President; the order having been made at the request of many members of the Society.

Gen. H. B.
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11-12-43

ANNUAL ADDRESS

BY

GENERAL ANDREW HICKENLOOPER.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, COMRADES OF THE
ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE:

When at your last stated meeting, you conferred upon me the distinguished honor and unmerited compliment of delivering your next annual address, little did any of us suppose that such an address would necessarily be an eulogy upon the life and military services of your distinguished President, then present with us in the full enjoyment of perfect health and mental vigor.

Little did we realize that when next we met, it would be within the shadow of a parting sorrow, to pay this last sad tribute of respect, due from soldiers to a soldier's memory.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN,

GENERAL U. S. A.

BORN FEB. 8, 1820.

DIED FEB. 14, 1891.

Such is the simple and modest inscription upon the casket containing the mortal remains of one of the most illustrious soldiers of the age, your old commander, and President of this Society, for a continuous period of twenty-two years.

"When a soldier dieth,
His comrades in the war,
With arms reversed, and muffled drums,
Follow the funeral-car.
They show the banners taken,
They tell of victories won,
And after him lead his masterless steed,
While peals the minute gun."

But when a soldier dies who has occupied so conspicuous a place in his country's history, and especially one of whom so much has already been said and written, little remains to be voiced that will either add to a knowledge of his character or the public appreciation of his many manly virtues and soldierly achievements. Therefore upon such an occasion as this we can little more than

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touch upon the salient points of a career that will ever lend luster to the great achievements of loyal arms.

"Paint me as I am," said one of England's most distinguished soldiers; "Put in every scar and wrinkle, that both friends and foes may recognize the likeness."

So should it be with Sherman; his greatness was of too pronounced a type to be impaired by showing the few scars and wrinkles that only serve to make more distinctive the wonderful career of a man whose contradictory nature must have impressed all alike by its hesitating indifference and its unselfish loyalty; its chilling austerity and its childlike simplicity; its uncompromising implacability and its manly generosity: peculiarities so happily blended, by rapidly succeeding events and time's disclosures, that we can now, more clearly than ever before, realize that each was an essential element in the formation of a character developed to meet peculiar and exceptional conditions.

William Tecumseh Sherman, the sixth son of a family of eleven children, was born at Lancaster, O., on the 8th day of February, 1820, and when but nine years of age was, by the sudden death of his father and the financially embarrassed condition of the family, forced to become a dependent upon the generously bestowed bounty of comparative strangers. Fortunately for his future welfare he became an inmate of the family—and practically the adopted son—of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, then one of the most distinguished men of Ohio. Mr. Ewing soon thereafter became United States Senator, and "Cump" Sherman, in the spring of 1836, entered West Point military academy, from which institution he graduated four years later, sixth in a class of forty-three. After thirteen years of uneventful military service, and seven years of varied and profitless civil employment, we find General Sherman early in 1860 occupying the position of superintendent of the Louisiana Seminary of Learning and Military Academy.

Another year and the dark shadows of the impending conflict were swiftly spreading. South Carolina had, the 20th of December, passed its order of secession; arms and munitions of war were, by traitorous officials, being rapidly transferred from northern to southern arsenals; United States officers of southern birth were resigning to accept service with their respective states; Fort Moultrie had been abandoned; the Star of the West had been fired upon; Federal forts had been seized and loyal troops cap-

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tured and paroled; open and armed rebellion was being preached by the heads of at least three of the executive departments at Washington; and the whole South was being rapidly transformed into an immense military camp of instruction; and yet Sherman quietly continued in the discharge of his assigned duties. What doubts, hopes, and fears were coursing through his brain during this critical period none can tell; but when the crucial test of his loyalty to their cause was applied, through an order from General Bragg, to receipt for, and take charge of, the arms and munitions of war, captured with the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, all doubts of his position were dispelled by the prompt transmittal of a letter, under date of January 18th, 1861, to the Governor of Louisiana, in which he said: "As I occupy a quasi-military position under this state, I think it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such a position when Louisiana was a state in the Union. Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose one way or the other. I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me the moment the state determines to secede, for on no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to, or in defiance of, the old government of the United States."

Six weeks later, leaving the service of Louisiana, with its congenial and remunerative employment, he embarked for his old home and an unknown future.

Now forty-one years of age, with a dependent family to support, naturally his mind turned to professional employment in the military service of his country, and with this object in view he visited Washington city. But doubting, as he did, his own ability to acceptably fill other than a subordinate position, he made no claim to special preferment, or even to the command of troops, but expressed a perfect willingness to accept any position for which he might be found qualified by education or experience.

Though backed by the strong political influence of his brother, then, as now, United States Senator, and commanding all the social influence due to his marriage with the daughter of so distinguished a man as the Hon. Thomas Ewing, he was unable to obtain more than a respectful consideration of his application, ending only in its rejection, President Lincoln himself saying: "We shall not need many men like you. This affair will soon blow over."

Asserting that he would take no further part in the controversy he returned to St. Louis, and through the influence of some old army

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friends secured the presidency of a street-railroad company in that city.

That he was, at this time, perfectly sincere in his expressed determination to have nothing more to do with the difficulties and dangers which imperiled the very life of the republic, there can be no question. For, in addition to such positive declarations, he stood unmoved by that perfect tempest of popular loyalty which swept aside all the social and political barriers throughout the north. Even as late as April 8th, 1861, he replied with an air of indifference to the offer of a responsible military position; and to General Blair's tender of an important command, he simply replied that he had long deliberated upon his course of action, and having once tendered his services, and met with refusal, he had made other arrangements which would preclude the acceptance of his offer, however tempting and complimentary.

But finding, as he himself says, that his best friends were beginning to doubt his loyalty, he renewed his application to the Secretary of War, saying:

"I hold myself now, as always, prepared to serve my country in the capacity for which I was trained. I will not volunteer as a soldier, because rightfully or wrongfully I feel unwilling to take a mere private's place, and having for many years lived in California and Louisiana, the men are not well enough acquainted with me to elect me to my appropriate place.

"Should my services be needed, the records of the War Department will enable you to designate the station in which I can render most service."

While this very modest and courteous application elicited no immediate response, on the 14th of May he had the satisfaction of being notified that he had been commissioned Colonel of the 13th United States Infantry, one of the new regiments authorized by Congress, but not yet enlisted.

This was the second important turning point in the career of a comparatively unknown man, destined within the brief period of three years to become one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age.

Biographers of historical character, forgetting that three-fourths of greatness is the greatness of opportunity, seek for and generally manage to find, or assume to find, in the lives of eminent men, some distinguishing feature that indicates a germ of greatness,

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which, under the influence of favorable conditions, develops and expands until the world bows in humble acknowledgement of inherited genius.

But for such evidence in the early lives of the most distinguished characters of our civil war, the historian will look in vain.

Of the three great central figures, one—the immortal Lincoln—neither in youth or early manhood, gave promise of his future.

He totally failed when placed in command of a single company of Illinois volunteers, and gave up the attempt in disgust. He was unsuccessful as a miller; proved himself incompetent to manage a country store; and within one year after entering upon the simple duty of county surveyor had his instruments, horse, and saddle attached for debt.

But when the hour of trial came that was to test his mighty genius under other and different conditions—the chief command of a million men under arms, and the civil government of the greatest republic on earth—he gave so enduring an example of true greatness, not to this nation alone, but to the world, that I may well say of him, as Lord Brougham said of Washington: "The test of the progress of mankind will be their appreciation of his character."

The second—General Grant—was not in boyhood possessed of the will power that afterward proved to be the dominating feature of his character. At West Point he displayed no wonderful adaptability for the profession of arms, and at the first favorable opportunity he retired from the military service, for which he had never evinced any natural or inherited taste during the dull and piping times of peace. The war came, and fame crowned the hero that fortune found to match the opportunity.

The third—General Sherman—the last survivor of that wonderful triumvirate that closed in victory the most stupendous struggle for civil rights and human liberty the world has ever known, proved no exception. He was a bright active boy, full of animal spirits, enjoying the freedom of a surveyor's rodman much more than the life of a student; but at no time giving, by word or deed, the slightest indication of possessing that talent for command which afterward placed him in the front rank of the most distinguished military chieftains of the world. At West Point there appears to have been no special development that would indicate peculiar fitness for the military profession, or unerringly point to a brilliant

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future. He was considered neither a good soldier nor model cadet; and in consequence never received any special recognition in the way of promotion, but remained a private from the beginning to the close of his academic term.

Neither was there during the entire period of his service in the old army, a single distinguishing feature; and notwithstanding his term of service covered the entire period of the Mexican war, he surrendered his commission without ever having seen to exceed a battalion under arms, and without ever having heard a hostile gun fired.

Still less did his subsequent resignation of his commission as commander-in-chief of the California militia, upon the eve of their being called into service by the Governor of that State for the enforcement of the laws, indicate any special desire to win laurels on the field of action, or subordinate his own judgment to soldierly obligations not in harmony with his own views of right and wrong.

But the transformation came with the government's acceptance of his services. As if by magic his whole nature appeared to change when from listless indifference and ambitionless repose he entered upon the discharge of his newly-assigned duties with an energy and zeal that fairly outstripped reason.

The historian Headly says there are three classes of men which a state of war brings to the surface to astonish the world by their developed character.

"One composed of the few men left of the chivalric age, who live more by the imagination in the days of knighthood than amidst the practical scenes that surround them.

"Another, is a class of reckless, daring spirits, who love the excitement of danger, and the still greater excitement of gaining or losing everything in a single throw.

"The other class, is composed of those stern and powerful men whose whole inherent force must out in action or slumber on forever. In peaceful times they acquire no eminence, for there is nothing upon which they can expend the prodigious active energy they possess; but in time of agitation, when a throne can be won by a strong arm and daring spirit, they arouse themselves and move around the tumult completely at home."

In the searching light of our past experience we may recognize many types of the first and second class; but of all the distinguished

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characters developed by our civil war, Sherman stands alone as the pre-eminent representative of that class whose birth-right to fame dates from the first shock of battle.

No pride of inherited genius could have added a single gem to his subsequently acquired crown of glory; nor was it needed to complete the full measure of a fame which rested upon the more enduring foundation of accomplished deeds.

He was loyal to the Union through no influences of early association or companionship, for during the entire period of his service in the old army it was dominated by soldiers of southern birth; and subsequently his warmest friendships were among the leading military men of that section; and yet all the bonds of personal friendship, all the blandishments of social influences, all the proffers of place, honors, and power, were insufficient to win him from his allegiance to the Union.

His patriotism was not of that intense and unreasoning character which subordinated every earthly consideration to the single purpose of "Hanging Jeff. Davis to a sour apple tree." It was based upon the stronger, and more enduring, foundation of a deep-seated conviction that it was only through national unity the republic could be preserved.

He entered upon the contest, not from motives of personal ambition, or love of his profession, but rather from loyal regard for the civil institutions of his country, and a desire that they might be perpetuated in the interests of the highest destiny of the human race.

He said to the Mayor of Atlanta, "I had no hand in the making of this war, and I will make more sacrifices to-day than any of you to secure peace. But you cannot have peace and a divided country. We do not want your negroes, houses, lands, or anything that you have; but we do want, and will have, a just obedience to the laws of the United States. We must not only have peace in Atlanta, but in all America."

And believing, as he did, that such a result could be obtained only through the speedy success of loyal arms, he made war with that single purpose in view; boldly, fiercely, and aggressively, it is true, but always with the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other.

And thus he became the architect of his own greatness, bor-

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rowing nothing from ancestry or association, but doing much to brighten well earned laurels resting upon other brows.

His first experience in handling troops under fire was at the battle of Bull Run, where he displayed the coolness, courage, and military ability of a veteran soldier. Promoted to Brigadier-General of volunteers, he was next assigned to the command of the forces being organized at Louisville for the defense of Kentucky. Familiar as he was with the objects and purposes of the secession movement; knowing, as he did, the earnestness and determination of the South; and appreciating, as no one else then appeared capable of doing, the dangers and difficulties to be met and mastered, he was not slow in denouncing the inadequacy of the government's preparations; and, incredible as it may now appear, alarmed the authorities by asserting that it would require 60,000 men for the Kentucky campaign and 200,000 to insure the safety of the west. So intense and zealous was he in the discharge of his duties, that it won for him the character of an alarmist, and came near precipitating a panic, of which the story of his insanity was an evolution.

And loyal papers, forgetting that "extraordinary genius is the neighbor of extraordinary madness," joined in a hue and cry that soon became public property through an editorial in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, which said:

"The following intelligence reaches us in such a form that we are not at liberty to discredit it, that General Wm. T. Sherman, commanding the Department of the Cumberland, is insane. The harsh criticisms which have been lavished upon this gentleman, provoked by his strange conduct, will now give way to feelings of the deepest sympathy for him in his great calamity. It seems, however, providential that the country has not to mourn the loss of an army through the loss of the mind of a General into whose hands were committed the vast responsibilities of the command in Kentucky."

An infamous slander that undoubtedly led to his being relieved from command and assignment to less important duties in Missouri. Subsequently ordered to Paducah, his boundless energy there found ample employment in the hasty organization, equipment, and forwarding of masses of brave, patriotic, but uninstructed men to a participation in the Tennessee campaign, in which he soon became an important factor as the commander of a division.

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The lurid light of war's illumination flashed across the fields of Shiloh. As the first dim and uncertain rays of that fateful April morning's sun struggled through the bright spring foliage, the "long roll's" ominous sounds for the first time fell upon ears unused to an interpretation of its fearful import, and "Sherman's division," composed of men who had never before faced an enemy in battle, promptly responded to the call, and from daylight until dark participated in that horrible harvest of death. Severely wounded and twice unhorsed, Sherman stuck to his work with an energy born of desperation. By the sheer force of his wonderful and magnetic personality he induced his raw troops to dispute every foot they yielded, as though it was their last and only hope, and to fight upon the threshold of the next, as though it was but the commencement of the struggle; closing the day's desperate fighting at a point not to exceed one mile distant from its place of commencement.

No better deserved or higher compliment could be paid a soldier than that accorded by Generals Grant and Halleck when they said:

"To his individual efforts we are indebted for the success of the battle. He saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory on the 7th."

Napoleon proudly said to the Emperor of Austria, "My patent of nobility dates from the battle of Montonette;" and Sherman might well have said, *his* dated from the battle of Shiloh.

And from this event, too, may be dated that undying and self-sacrificing friendship between the two greatest military chieftains of the civil war. Men whose whole lives appeared to run together; for but two brief years will blanket the dates of their births, entrance into the academy, their successive promotions to the rank of Captain, their term of service in the old army, their resignations, their marriages, and all their subsequent promotions, from the rank of Colonel to that of Lieutenant-General.

Both were practical failures in the business affairs of life; and the services of both were declined when first tendered to the government; both were falsely and unjustly charged with weaknesses impairing their military standing; and unsuccessful battles—Belmont and Bull Run—marked their first experiences; and conclusive victories—Bentonville and Appomattox—crowned their closing efforts.

Sherman's subsequently associated part with General Grant was that of a subordinate working upon independent lines of thought

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and action, swinging loose from personal contact and visible events, to return only when some specially assigned task had been accomplished.

In pursuance of this theory of operation, with an army corps especially organized for the purpose, late in December he descended the Mississippi river to attempt the capture of Vicksburg; while Grant was to hold the main forces of the enemy about Grenada. Unfortunately Sherman was not advised of the disaster at Holly Springs, necessitating Grant's withdrawal from the enemy's front, and insuring his own repulse by a superior force.

Hurled back from the impregnable fortifications of the Yazoo Bluffs, he lost no time in vain repining, but snatched victory from defeat by at once planning and executing in a masterly manner a campaign resulting in the capture of Arkansas Post with its heavy armament and 5,000 prisoners. Returning to the Mississippi river his corps was attached to the recently arrived forces of General Grant and together they made numerous attempts to find some practical pathway by which to place the Army of the Tennessee upon the highlands in the rear of Vicksburg. Canals were dug and abandoned, bayous were explored and rejected, and all resources appeared exhausted in vain endeavor to reach a proper operating base. Gloomy indeed were the prospects, and loud and fierce were the complaints published in northern papers, characterizing the whole campaign as a disastrous failure.

But soon a rift in the clouds appeared, when the genius of Grant pointed out the way; an essential feature of which was that Sherman should make a demonstration against Haines Bluff to cover the real movement below; a thankless and hopeless task, which all knew would be heralded throughout the north as another defeat, due to incompetent leadership.

There are two kinds of courage, one, the courage to meet an enemy in battle, the other, courage to brave public criticism, equally important and meritorious; but while the first leads to glory and renown, the other, too frequently, leads to unmerited dishonor and disgrace. No one understood this better than Sherman, and yet he promptly replied to Grant's hesitatingly suggested desires, "I believe a diversion at Haines Bluff is essential to your success, and I will make it regardless of consequences and damaging reports."

Promptly, cheerfully, and successfully, he executed the task

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assigned him; and then hastily joined the main body, which had secured a footing upon the highlands about Port Gibson; and with it participated in all the active operations of that memorable campaign which resulted—on the 4th of July, 1863—in the surrender of Vicksburg, and the capture of more men and materials of war than up to that time had ever been captured upon any one single occasion.

But no sooner was this accomplished than he was again entrusted with a separate command, and the duty of driving Joe. Johnston's succoring army out of the state, "a fitting supplement to the conquest of the Mississippi, and, indeed, necessary to perfect the achievements of General Grant."

Soon thereafter, succeeding General Grant in the command of the Army of the Tennessee, he undertook the rapid transfer of a considerable portion of his troops from the Mississippi river to the relief of the beleaguered garrison of Chattanooga. Day and night he urged his weary and footsore men through the mud, over rocky roads, treacherous quicksands, and across swollen rivers for over four hundred miles, and then without a moment's rest and without sleep for three successive nights, he crossed the Tennessee and took the initiative in that battle which saved the Army of the Cumberland and sent Bragg reeling back from the front of troops which he believed were being starved into submission and surrender.

Then again cutting loose with his war-worn and battle-scarred heroes, many of them ragged and barefooted, without blankets or overcoats, during the most inclement season of the year, he made that memorable one hundred and thirty miles march to the relief of Knoxville.

So meritorious were these accomplishments that Congress, by joint resolution, expressed to him the thanks of his gratified country.

Resting not a moment he personally returned to the Mississippi river, and, with the troops of that department, entered upon that brilliantly conceived and masterly executed campaign known as the "Meridian raid," in which he first demonstrated the practicability of moving an army from its base of supplies and practically subsisting it upon the enemy's country.

Following this came General Grant's promotion to the grade of Lieutenant-General, and Sherman's assignment to the command of the military division of the Mississippi; upon which occasion

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General Grant wrote him that he attributed whatever he had had of success to the energy and skill of his subordinates, especially McPherson and himself. To which sincere and manly expression of regard and appreciation, General Sherman promptly and feelingly replied, and added in a strain that now appears prophetic in its forecast of the future:

“and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston, and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.”

One of our greatest military critics has said “many a man will prove himself a hero when told what to do and how to do it, yet show great indecision when himself left to decide his own course.” But this was no longer to be Sherman's relations to his superior, for the latter said in parting, “I do not propose to lay down for you a plan of campaign, but simply to lay down the work it is desirable to have done, and leave you free to execute it in your own way.” To which Sherman modestly replied, “I will not let any side issues draw me off from main points, in which I am to knock Joe. Johnston, and do as much damage as I can to the resources of the enemy.”

Under these conditions was inaugurated a campaign that will ever be memorable in the annals of war, as one of the most doggedly persistent and brilliant examples of great generalship ever exhibited in any age.

Never before in the world's history had such a body of men been brought together for a nobler purpose; never before an army so well fitted by general intelligence for the accomplishment of such a task; never before an army commanded by a man more thoroughly possessing the confidence and respect of the one hundred thousand veteran soldiers, who, on the morning of May 5th, 1864, stood ready for the signal to advance.

By skillful strategy, consummate generalship, and a display of that indomitable energy for which he was justly renowned, he forced the fight; in season and out of season, by day and by night, it was the ceaseless booming of cannon and rattle of musketry that furnished the inspiring music for his marching men. Daunted by no obstacles, exhausted by no toil, entrapped by no stratagem, he moved resistlessly forward. No sooner was he brought to bay by unsurmountable obstacles than his pioneers were blazing the way to a new point of attack. Step by step he drove the enemy

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before him. Never shunning a battle, but sparing the lives of his men by avoiding useless attacks upon impregnable fortifications, he gained battles, not by desperate fighting alone, but by skillful maneuvering and hard marching.

Like the Alpine glazier that ever creeps onward in its resistless course; slowly sweeping through gorges, climbing over precipices, pushing aside barriers, and moving along valleys to the sea; so moved "Sherman's army" in its resistless course to the same destination.

In quick succession followed the battles of Resaca, Cassville, Dallas, New Hope, Peach Tree, Atlanta, and Jonesboro, culminating in the electrifying message from your honored chief: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won."

It was, indeed, a glorious ending to a most brilliant campaign, but one darkly stained with loyal blood, for over thirty thousand of America's bravest and best had been borne to the hospital or followed to the grave; and McPherson—the only commander of a Union army killed during the war—individualized in his country's history and up to the time of his death amongst the foremost of its illustrious defenders—fell upon the threshold of his culminating victory. Well might Sherman have said, as did Napoleon at Marengo, when informed of the death of his favorite marshal: "Victory at such a price is dear."

Of commanding stature, martial bearing, and the very embodiment of manly grace and beauty, McPherson fell, "booted and spurred as a gallant knight and gentleman should wish." History tells us, said Sherman, of but few who blended the grace and gentleness of a friend with dignity, courage, faith, and manliness of the soldier; those whom he commanded loved him even to idolatry.

Brilliant and fruitful as was the campaign to Atlanta, it was but one step toward the consummation of his plans.

As though standing upon an eminence, from which he could look away over and beyond the mists of the valley that obscured the vision of those who were occupying the ordinary level, his eyes swept over the rocky fastnesses of northern Georgia; the broad savannahs of its ocean-washed shores; and up along the coast, even to where his honored chief had for many weary months been struggling with the still unsolved problem of Lee's defeat and the capture of Richmond.

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With his comprehensive mind, he grasped the possibilities of the future so clearly that he became anxious to seize the opportunity afforded by Hood's northward march, to strike the concluding blows that he felt assured would bring peace and prosperity to his country.

Detaching to General Thomas a sufficient force to care for Hood, and sending to the rear all the sick, weak, and inefficient, with extra baggage, tents, and surplus munitions of war, there emerged from this apparent confusion of preparation a compact, confident army of sixty thousand veteran soldiers, "well armed, well equipped, and provided, so far as human foresight could, with all the essentials of life, strength, and vigorous action."

Like Cortez destroying his ships that thoughts of return might not enter the minds of his men, the iron chords that bound Sherman's army to northern civilization were torn asunder, and with his parting message, "All is well," on the 15th of November, he began that famous march to the sea which punctured the bubble of secession and sent the music of a famous song echoing down the corridors of time.

With but three days' forage, twenty days' short rations, and two hundred rounds of ammunition; in four columns of sixteen thousand men each, and five thousand cavalry on the exposed flank; presenting a head of column thirty miles in width—"a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night"—feigning upon fortified positions first to the right and then to the left; brushing aside all opposing forces, and sweeping like a tornado over their hastily improvised field-works and fortifications, that "lost army" pressed steadily forward on a projected march, the ultimate destination of which was known only to its commander, until the morning of December 21st, thirty-five days after leaving Atlanta.

"Proud, proud was the army that morning
That stood by the cypress and pine,
When Sherman said, 'Boys, you are weary;
This day fair Savannah is thine.'"

Happy in its conception, wonderful in its execution, glorious in its results, but above all, fortunate in its leadership, Sherman's march to the sea will ever be regarded as one of the grandest accomplishments of modern warfare.

Emerson says, "Originality of thought is the acme of genius, and the highest merit we can ascribe to the grandest men is that

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they set at naught books and traditions, following not what other men have said, but what they themselves have thought."

Measured by such a standard, Sherman would certainly rank with the greatest military chieftains of any age, for he was nothing if not original.

Caring little for the pageantry of war, his campaign life was a model for his subordinates. No useless tents incumbered his trains; mess chests were relegated to the rear; "councils of war" were to him unknown; "chiefs of staff" found no place in his military family; and "Adjutant-Generals" were to him simply clerks and scribes. In a field campaign his official papers were generally carried in a side pocket, and finally filed away in an empty candle-box.

While a profound student of military history and the science of war, he was an imitator in nothing; but when the occasion demanded, drew from and added to his wealth of military knowledge the principles and suggestions necessary to meet existing emergencies. Constantly improving upon the old, and making new rules of warfare, he found no necessity for imitating even the greatest of military heroes. His comprehensive grasp of every situation, and supreme confidence in his own abilities, left no room for anything more than the most daring application of fundamental principles to new and novel conditions.

As original and independent in action as in thought, he seldom took counsel of others; clear, precise, and exact in his orders, and saying to his subordinates, ask me for anything but time, he anticipated only the utmost harmony of action and certainty of results. And yet changed conditions always found him prepared with fertile expedients that never occurred to others, enabling him to seize the opportunity for making the most momentous combinations and unexpected movements, as though they were but parts of the original plan and the quiet, every day work of an ordinary soldier.

Immediately after the capture of Fort McAllister and previous to the fall of Savannah General Grant directed Sherman to leave all his cavalry and artillery in a fortified camp near that city and transport his men by sea to City Point with all possible dispatch. But to this plan Sherman signified his disapproval by portraying the greater advantages of again launching out into the interior, and joining him by a march through the very heart of the Con-

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federacy. General Grant's military mind at once comprehended the importance of the proposed movement; he doubted only its practicability, and wrote Sherman for a more detailed expression of his views.

In reply to which Sherman said: "I am pleased that you have modified your former orders. I feel no doubt whatever as to our future plans. I have thought them over so long and well that they appear to me as clear as day. I think our campaign of the past month, as well as every step I take from this point northward, is as much a direct attack upon Lee's army as though we were operating within the sound of his artillery. This march is necessary to close the war; it must be made sooner or later, and I am now in a proper position to make it. I ask no reinforcements, for, while I do not like to boast, I believe this army has a confidence in itself that makes it almost invincible. I expect that Jeff. Davis will, however, move heaven and earth to catch me, for success to this column is fatal to his dream of empire."

On the 27th of December General Grant communicated his approval of Sherman's plans, saying: "Join the armies operating against Richmond as soon as you can. I will leave all suggestions about the route you should take, knowing that your information gained daily in the course of events will be better than any that can be obtained now."

Having previously concentrated his army about Hardeeville and Pocatalago, on the 1st of February, Sherman gave the signal to advance; and thus inaugurated a campaign which, in results to be accomplished, difficulties to be overcome, and natural obstacles to be surmounted, was to be the supreme test of his generalship, and the crowning glory of all his military achievements.

Involving, as it did, the movement in the depth of winter of immense artillery, baggage, and subsistence trains, over a section of country traversed by few roads, many deep rivers, innumerable streams, and overflowed swamps, it is no wonder General Grant said: "I had originally no idea of having Sherman march from Savannah to Richmond, or even to North Carolina. The season was bad and the roads impracticable for anything, except such an army as he had. I should not have thought of ordering such a move."

In addition to the natural obstacles to be overcome he was now to operate in a country comparatively destitute of subsistence and

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defended by the second most important veteran army of the Confederacy, under the leadership of his old antagonist, General Johnston, who had so successfully contested every step from Chattanooga to Atlanta.

Though confident of success, he was by no means indifferent to the hazards of such an undertaking, and therefore made every provision for the safety of his army that human sagacity could suggest. Recalling the fate of Cornwallis—who, upon this very ground, was victorious in battle but defeated by famine—he advised supporting movements and establishments of depots of supplies at various points along the coast, to which he might be forced to resort, and even calculating the length of time he might be able to subsist his army upon parched corn and mule-meat, saying to General Grant: "You may rest assured I will keep my troops well in hand and impress them, if possible, with the feeling that beef and salt are all that is absolutely necessary to sustain life; and if I am worsted, will aim to make the enemy pay so dearly that you will have less to do."

Corduroying roads, wading swamps, building bridges, pontooning rivers, destroying railroads, and fighting the enemy night and day; through rain, mud, and mire, his resistless columns moved steadily forward, cheerfully enduring every privation in the full confidence that they were striking such effective blows at the heart of treason that they must inevitably bring the end for which all were devoutly praying. Threatening Charleston on the right and Augusta on the left, he skillfully divided the forces of the enemy and moved rapidly north directly upon Columbia, the capital of the secession-cursed state, which the whole army believed to be mainly responsible for the war.

While the enemy severely criticised General Sherman's methods, it is perfectly natural that the conquered and the conquerer should entertain different views in regard to military necessities. To successfully wage war it is not only necessary to defeat armies but to waste and destroy their subsistence; mistaken sentimentality in this regard at the beginning only prolonged the struggle. No army of equal numbers ever marched through an enemy's country that interfered less with personal rights. The unavoidable suffering which ensued through the appropriation of subsistence was only that which naturally and inevitably followed in the wake of an invading army. To the credit of Union soldiers and honor to

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their loyal mothers, not one single recorded act of hostility toward unarmed men or insult to unprotected women has left a blot upon the fair fame of American manhood. In the light of such a record it appears unnecessary to discuss the question whether Columbia was burned by Union or Confederate soldiers. It simply fell a sacrifice to the fortunes of the war, from which no southern city—save possibly Charleston—had less reason for pleading exemption.

Making ample—aye, liberal—provision for the protection and subsistence of the citizens of that unfortunate city, his columns were swiftly moved forward to Cheraw, across the Pedee, up to Fayetteville and over the Cape Fear river, to fight and win the battles of Averyboro and Bentonville; and finally form a junction with the forces of Schofield and Terry at Goldsboro, the objective point of a campaign to which military critics will hereafter refer as a standard by which to estimate the extreme maximum endurance and marching abilities of a well organized, thoroughly disciplined, and magnificently commanded, veteran corps, that safely accomplished the longest and most difficult march ever before made by an army through an enemy's country.

Pausing only long enough to refill his ammunition and subsistence trains he directed his heads of column upon Smithfield, where Johnston had taken up a defensive position, only to find that he had fallen back upon Raleigh. Changing his route toward Salisbury in order to intercept Johnston's retreat southward Sherman forced from his antagonist a plea for the suspension of hostilities, with a view to determining whether arrangements could not be made for terminating the war—negotiations which finally resulted in the surrender of Johnston's army. And thus at Durham's station the curtain fell upon the last important act of that terrible drama of civil war which opened with the crime of treason and closed with the curse of assassination.

Peace came with this glorious ending of his last campaign, a fitting conclusion to that brilliant series which impressed many with the belief that Sherman was the brightest military genius of an epoch fruitful in the production of heroes.

While General Sherman may have developed peculiarities of genius that were observed severally in other men, in none, however, were such peculiarities ever before found in such happy combinations. He certainly excelled all in his ability to rapidly organize, equip, supply, and move an army in the field. His track-

